

John Toland

THE

JACOBITISM

PERJURY

AND

1474 b. 2

POPERY

OF

High-Church-Priests,

Deme autem lucrum, superos & Sacra negabunt.

L O N D O N,

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The Perjury, &c. of High Church-Priests.

NO True *Englishman* can forget the Terror and Astonishment the whole Nation was in when they saw King *James*, whose Religion oblig'd him on pain of Damnation to extirpate all Protestants, filling up his Army with *Irish*, and other Cut-Throat Papists, having before dispensed with the Laws in order to place such Men in all Civil Posts as were at the Devotion of the Jesuits, who intirely govern'd the King's Conscience. Then the Clergy not only abandon'd their Doctrine of Passive-Obedience, which till that time they had made the Characteristick of a true Church-Man, but did all that Men could do to inspire the People to Act like Freeborn *Englishmen*, in defence of their Religion, Laws and Libertys; none were more forward than they to invite the Prince of *Orange* to come over at the Head of an Army; & on his Landing encouraged all either to join him, or otherwise to take up Arms in order to distress K: *James*. Every Body knows that ABp: *Sanicroft* shewed so much Zeal for this glorious Cause, that he went in Person to demand of K: *James's* Lieutenant the Keys of the Tower; and another Venerable Prelate, on that happy Occasion, nor only put on a Blue Coar, Jack-Boots, &c. but conducted her present Majesty to join those who had actually taken up Arms against her Father; so much did she esteem the Cause of the Protestant Religion, and of her Countrys Liberty, above all other Obligations. In a word, this unanimous and hearty Concurrence of the Clergy, with the rest of the Nation, in opposing K: *James*, forced Dr. *Atterbury* *Rights of Conv.* to celebrate their Praise, and give them p. 113, 362. this glorious Encomium, "That none were more instrumental than the *English* Clergy in promoting the common Deliverance; a Protestant Clergy, the professed Assertors of the just Freedoms

“doms and Rights of Mankind in Religious Affairs, and
 “who have been more than once instrumental in shaking
 “off Yokes of every kind from the Necks of *Englishmen*”

After this, who could expect that such numbers of these Religious Men shou'd so soon damn, what themselves, and the whole Nation had been acting at the Revolution, and maintain that our All, our Fortunes, our Wives and Children, nay our very Lives depend on Will and Pleasure, and are entirely at the disposal of the Prince, who on pain of Damnation is not to be resisted, tho his Tyranny be ever so insupportable, as having a Divine Right to an absolute and unconditional Obedience? These *bowstring* Doctrines are at all times intollerable in a Free Nation, but especially when the Lawfulness of the Government is built on the Lawfulness of the Peoples withdrawing their Allegiance from a King, who had openly invaded, and designed totally to subvert their Constitution.

'Twas to the surprize of every Body that High-Church refus'd these old Slavish Notions, not only in contradiction to all their Discourses and Actions at the Revolution, but in defiance of all the Declarations, Subscriptions, Oaths and Obligations, which ever were required by GOD or Man, to Tie and Engage Men to one another. Nay, they have dealt as deceitfully with GOD as with Man: How frequently and solemnly have they mocked the Almighty with most hypocritical and sham Thanksgivings for our happy Deliverance from Popery and Slavery, even when they preached such Doctrines, as made it Damnation to resist a Tyrant who was bringing both Popery and Slavery on the Nation?

Every one sees how impossible 'tis to coin a Distinction that can in the least excuse High-Church from perjury, in swearing to bear true Allegiance to K: *William*, while they thought K: *James* had neither parted with, nor could forfeit the Right he had to their true Allegiance: yet this Oath they broke thro like a Cobweb, by the Distinction

of *de Jure* and *de Facto*; and no doubt applauded themselves for having found out such an happy Expedient, as gave them all the Protections and Advantages of the Government, yet left them at Liberty to oppose it.

This impious trifling of High-Church with their Oaths, made the Parliament judge it necessary to cut off all their knavish Directions, and leave no room for any wretched Evasion; and therefore they obliged 'em to sign the *Association*; which declares K: *William* to be Lawful and Rightful K: of *England*: and in it they mutually promise and engage to stand by and assist each other to the utmost of their Power, in Defence and Support of his Majesties Person and Government, against the late K: *James*, and all his Adherents, and in supporting and Defending the Succession of the Crown as by Law Established.

Tho in subscribing this solemn Declaration, there was no room left for Subterfuges, yet this had no other effect on High-Church-Priests, than to make them rail the more bitterly at the Revolution, and be the more Active in preaching up all such Doctrines as made it Damnation to own K: *William* for their Rightful and Lawful King.

Yet notwithstanding this, the Parliament believing there were some degrees of wickedness that the most profligate would boggle at, and few so abandoned as not to have some remorse for Perjury on Perjury, or at least not to be in love with Infamy, they enacted that all should swear, what before they had subscribed, "That K: *William* was Rightful & Lawful, & that they would bear true Faith and Allegiance to him, and that the Pretender had no Right or Title whatever, and that they would stand by, defend and maintain, to the utmost of their Power, the Protestant Succession, as by Law established in the House of *Hanover*, (tho there were above twenty who by High-Church-Principles were to precede that House;) and that they acknowledged and swear all this according to the express Words, and according to the plain and express understanding of them; and that they make this

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" Acknowledgment, Recognition, Renunciation, Abjuration and Promise, heartily, willingly and truly, upon " the true Faith of a Christian". And this was enacted again *mutatis mutandis*, in the Oath they are enjoined to take to the present Queen; Yet these things went down with them as glibly as a Bumper of Claret to the health of their Popish King, whom, rather than lose the least trifle, they will Abjure ten times a day: Nay, High-Church Priests, the more they swear, the more they think it their Duty to be Forsworn; And those Oaths which they can't break without renouncing the Faith of a Christian, have no other Effect on them, than to make them the more active and industrious in Preaching up, with an uncommon Zeal, all those Doctrines which are inconsistent with the late & present Government, & the Protestant Succession.

The Parliament at the Revolution was Governed by this Principle of Eternal Truth, That a Nation can never be reduc'd to such Circumstances, as not to have a Right to act for its own Preservation; but that on extraordinary occasions, it will always be lawful to break thro' the ordinary Rules in all such things, as could have no other reason for their Institution, than the common Safety, that Supreme Law of Nature, & Nations. And therefore in the Entail they made of the Crown, when K: *James* by his illegal Proceedings had Abdicated his Legal Government, they took no Notice of the then Prince of *Wales*, and postpon'd all other Titles, to invest K: *William* with the sole Administration, and afterwards excluded for ever all Papists, & Persons marry'd to Papists; Nay, condemn'd the Popish Pretender as a Traitor, notwithstanding all the bundle of Evidences recorded in Chancery, to prove he was not *supposititious*. Which in every step being Diametrically opposite to the Principles of the High-Church Priests, who are never influenced by the Good of Humane Society, every Body must see, that all the Oaths they have taken since the Revolution, are directly contrary to their C

sciences, and that they design nothing by the Passive Obedience Doctrines they Preach up with so much fiery Zeal, but to undermine the foundation of the present Settlement.

And this appears most plainly by their Conduct on that Day, which from their Abuse of it is call'd their General Madding-day; for then they never fail to run down all that the Lords and Commons did at the Revolution, in order to damn the Settlement built on it. Their insolent Harangues at that time put a Man in mind of the *Bacchanalia* in old Rome, where Slaves took the Liberty to insult their Lords and Masters, who gave them Bread.

The Design of that Day of Humiliation, set a part to deprecate God's Judgments for an Action which few alive approve, and none had a hand in, is most scandalously perverted, when 'tis made use of to alienate Peoples Affection from the present Government and Protestant Succession: and there's nothing now which more requires a day of Humiliation, than the crying Sin of Perjury, which High-Church Priests shew themselves guilty of every where, but most especially in the most Holy Places, and on the most Holy Days, and on the most Holy Occasions; when 'tis their Duty to warn the People against all Sins, but chiefly against such as are of so deep and black a Dye, as Sedition, Perjury, and undermining the Protestant Succession, and by consequence the Protestant Religion. Have we not too much Reason to apprehend, that so horrid a prophanation of all that's Sacred, must pull down the most dreadful Vengeance on the Preachers and Hearers, on the Priests and People? Till a stop is put to these Blasphemous Abuses in the House of GOD; ought not every Pious Christian, in utter abhorrence of so infamous and execrable a practice, to say with the good Old Patriarch, *O my Soul, come not thou into their Secrets, nor to their Assembly, mine Honour be not thou united!*

A Man would be surpriz'd (if any thing High-Church Priests say or do could surprize him) to see them not only renounce the only good Act they ever had a share in, in joining

joining with the People to bring about the happy Revolution, but pursue with Vengeance all who dare attempt to prove, that they then Acted according to their Consciences, or that they have not since been as often perjured as they have Sworn.

What other Quarrel have they against Mr. *Hoadly*, to whom they bear a Mortal and Implacable Hatred, notwithstanding he has (which one would think should merit their Favour) writ against the Dissenters, and the *Rights of the Christian Church*, but that he is so much in love with the late Revolution, that he does not desire to see another, and heretofore makes it his Business to justify it against their senseless Cavils? Nay, 'tis plain they have no other Crime to object to him, but that he has so much zeal for their real interest, as to vindicate their resisting King *James*, in the Defence of their Religion and Country; and to shew how they might, would they be true to their own Revolution-Principles, lawfully swear to the present Government, the Protestant Succession, and abjure the Pretender. But High Church will never forgive him so presumptuous an Attempt: no, they will be perjured ten thousand times over, rather than owe the lawfulness of taking the Oaths to such Abdicated Doctrines.

How widely did the Lower House of Convocation differ in this matter from the present House of Commons! The former were so far from approving of Mr. *Hoadly's* Principles, that they addressed the Bishops to concur with them in a Synodical Censure of his Sermon, for the *Dishonour it brought to the Church*; while the latter call that which he has writ, in Defence of the Doctrine laid down in his Sermon, *A strenuous Justification of the Principles on which her Majesty and the Nation acted in the late Revolution, and an eminent Service both to Church and State*. And indeed 'tis this Address, and not the Sermon, that has not only been a Libel on her Majestys Conduct at the Revolution, but a Dishonour to the Church, by condemning those Principles by which the Church, when in the greatest danger

danger, was preserve'd from utter Ruin and Destruction. And if that which saves the Church may bring Dishonour to it, these Convocation-Men are never like to bring such Dishonour to the Church. But it is not only the Laitie who think the greatest danger that ever can happen to the Church must be from the Church-Men themselves, but even the best Men among the Clergy confess it; As for instance, the good Bishop of Lincoln Dr. Wake's *Appeal* declares, *That nothing at this day* *is in behalf of the King's Supremacy, p. 121.* *preserves us from Ruin, but that we (the Clergy) have not power of our selves to do the Church a Mischief; and the Prince, who sees but too much of our Temper, is too gracious to us, and has too great a Concern for the Churches good, to suffer us to do it. And tis evident her Majestie is as gracious, has the same Concern for the Churches good, since She will not let the Convocation sit to do the Church a Mischief.*

Among the many Reasons why the Bishop of Lincoln thinks the Clergy, if they had Power, would Ruin the Church, One is, *That there are, as he says, 16 Episcopals a new Sort of Disciplinarians rise up from among our selves, who seem to comply with the Government of the Church, as others do with that of the State, not out of any Conscience to their Duty, or any Love they bear to it, but because they cannot keep their Oaths without it. They hate our Constitution, and Revile all such as stand up in good Earnest for it; and yet for all that Resolve still to Subscribe and Rail.*

The only Reason that the professed *Jacobites* do or can give for their not taking the Oaths, is, that their Principles of *Passive-Obedience* and *Non-Resistance* do inviolably attach them to the Interest of the *St. Germans* Family, in opposition to the present Government, and the Protestant Succession. And since High Church maintain the same Doctrine, ought they not, if they would not be thought to mean the same thing, to endeavour to convince

the World, that *Jacobitism* is not the necessary Consequence of their Common Principles? But they are so far from offering at any such thing, that they plainly and openly shew what they wou'd be at, when they join with the *Jacobites* in all publick Matters, and appear to be influenced in all their Actions by the same Spirit, and to carry on the same Interest, and the same Designs; which makes them alike commend and condemn the same things and Persons, alike Rail at the *Dutch*, alike Cry up the *French*, alike Rejoice at all our Misfortunes, and to be alike Mortifi'd at our good Successes, alike Revile the Queen, Libel the Ministry, and make Saucy Invectives against the Bishops. All which I take to be Proofs *Ex Abundanti*; since no one thinks he has sufficient Evidence to judge how a Man stands Affected to the Government, if he only knows what his Sentiments are relating to the *Passive Obedience* Doctrines.

Tho the Swearing *Jacobites* make the highest Court to the Nonjurors for their Steadiness to their common Principles, yet the others can't sometimes forbear to give them pretty severe Reprimands for their Swearing contrary to their Consciences; as to instance in the great Favourite of High-Church, the celebrated Mr. Lesley, who says, 'Tis a
Answer to Bishop King's State of Ireland. &c. *severe Test the Common People have got against the Clergy, that there was but one thing formerly the Parliament cou'd not do, that is, make a Man a Woman; but now there's another, they can't make an Oath which the Clergy will not take.*
 page 123.

The Author of a *Jacobite Pamphlet*, which all the World gives Dr. Hicks the Honour of, to ingratiate himself with High-Church, makes a Panegyrick on them for Swearing contrary to their Consciences, and waiting for an Opportunity to throw off the Government they have solemnly Sworn to; His words are, *The main Body of our Clergy Honour their old Brethren in their Hearts, as*
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Men of Principles, who are most Faithful to the English Monarchy, Zealous for the Honour and Prosperity of the Royal Family, and the Catholick Doctrines, and Rights

*Preface to some
Discourse of Dr.
Butcher and Dr.
Tillotson.*

of the Church: Nay I have Reason to hope, that they wait for the times of Healing and Refreshing, when they may come again to Communion with us under their Rightful Bishop. I know in some Measure what I say to be true; and if any Man doubt of it, let him consider what inclination the Convocation discovered at it's first sitting down. And in the Margin he says, Among the worthy Men here describ'd, may be Reckon'd the late learned Mr. Warton, who put out Archbishop Laud's Works; Dr. Dove, who all the World know took the Oaths; with so much Reluctance; and once turn'd Dr. B. out of his House, for arguing, as he thought too warmly for the Government; But more particularly Dr. Scot of worthy Memory; And the learned Dr. Busby; I dare not Name the Living. None can accuse the High-Church of ingratitude, since every one knows, what a great Veneration they have for the Man who complements so highly for being tortworn, and who Represents Perjury, in those he Names for worthy Men, as a most Heroick Action.

Many admitted the impudence of the Pretender in attempting with so very few Forces such a Powerful Government, but then they did not consider how many years the High-Church Drummers had been beating up for Volenteers on his Account. But tho that attempt has happily miscar'd, yet 'tis very melancholy, to consider how since that time the High-Church Pulpits have doubl'd their Efforts, to make way for another Descent. Nay tho one of the Trumpeters of Sedition is prosecuted in a Parliamentary way Yet that has had no other Effects on his True Brethren, then to cause Men to Preach up with more fury than ever these Hellish Doctrines; As if they hop'd with their Numbers, and daring insolence to intimidate the Parliament.

So that now after the spending of so much Blood and Treasure in defence of the Revolution, things seems to be brought to this pass, that the Representatives of the Nation must be under a necessity of disputing the Lawfulness of it with High-Church Priests, who without any regard to their Oaths, are daily telling the People in as plain terms as they durst, that all the Steps leading to the present Settlement, by which Her Majesty Reigns. are founded on a damnable Rebellion, in which the whole Nation has been involv'd. Were this true, High-Church needs not be at any great pains to prove that a National Guilt, Requires a National Repentance; and that they had no way to Atonement for this Damnable and Unnatural Sin, then by reducing things as soon as possible to their former course and old channel. So that if our Allies are not to be Betray'd, as well as these Nations given up to the Pretender, and all Europe by consequence to French Tyranny, and Popery; 'Tis not the fault of High-Church, who had they not Reviv'd their abdicated Doctrine of Passive Obedience, there had not been, in all probability, by this time such a Monster in the Nation as a *Protestant Jacobite*.

For which Conduct of theirs, I shou'd be glad if a better Reason can be Assigned, then not they quickly departing in a Government, founded on Liberty, to get such a Spiritual Tyranny, as can only be obtain'd by means of Arbitrary Power, Penal Laws, and Engrossing of the Press; And seeing how all attempt of this kind have turn'd to their utter confusion, they have resolv'd to do their best to destroy the constitution both in Church and State, and to make way for a Popish Pretender. And if they can by any mean bring this about, 'tis but Damning the Reformation, as well as the Revolution; and then they may be sure to gain the same Spiritual Powers as their Popish Predecessors enjoy'd. And why they shou'd not Damn one as well as the other. there can be no reason, since the Doctrine of passive Obedience are not more inconsistent with the principles of the Revolution then the powers, they claim

over the Consciences of the people, are with the principles of the Reformation, which had been long since destroy'd, had it not been for that Revolution they are forward to sacrifice to the interest of a pretended Prince, breed up in the utmost Aversion to the Reformation. The best they can say for being instrumental in restoring Popery, is that they aim at the Crown of Martyrdom; And 'tis but Reasonable, That they who are so ready to make Martyrs of all that differ from them, should be as ready to suffer Martyrdom themselves.

I should not have made this surmise of the conduct of High Church Priests, could that otherwise be accounted for, or were they not as notoriously guilty of perjury, when they take the Oath of Supremacy, as of Allegiance, since nothing can be more inconsistent then the Supremacy, they claim by Divine Right over t^{he} Queen as their Ecclesiastical Subject, with that Supremacy the Law invests the Queen with over the Clergy, and which they as Her Ecclesiastical Subjects have Sworn more than once to maintain.

And can we think that such Men as these wou'd ever scruple, when they found it their interests to prefer to the Supremacy of a Woman, that of the Pope, as Patriarch of the West, and to allow him what so many Councils, have declar'd it to be his due, the Right of Receiving Appeals from all the Churches under his Patriarchship. And Mr. Lesley, who is esteem'd the Guide of the Universities, and Inferior Clergy, prefers the Popal Supremacy, notwithstanding all it's Encroachments, to the Regal, when he says, *That the Usurpation of the Pope on the Episcopate, made the Bishop of Spalato to come over to England, but finding here a more Heterogenious Erastianism in the Regale, he return'd.* And that the Reformation of the Gallican Church would Exceed ours, cou'd they keep as clear from the Regale, as they have from the *Pontificat*. p. 265. 2d. Edit.

I might here add, That 'tis directly contrary to the

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Principles of High-Church Priests, to allow that Lay Powers can dissolve the Spiritual Relation of Bishops to the People of their Diocess; and consequently by their own Notion of Schism, whosoever owns the Communion of any Bishops put into the Bishopricks of those so depriv'd, are guilty of Schism. And yet did they not do all this, when the present Bishops were put into the Sees of those depriv'd by Parliament, a Lay-Power, that by their Principles is incapable of depriving even the lowest Ecclesiasticks.

As High-Church Priests always express'd a great indignation against that common Saying, *That Priests of all Religions are still the same*, so I must do them that Justice, as to own they have sufficiently confuted it, by shewing there never was any Set of Priests, half so vile and profligate as themselves, who tho they abhor the present constitution of Church and State, and most by their Principles believe it no less then Damnation to become a Member of either, and are daily preaching up Notions destructive of both, yet have made no scruple, nor only to own both, but to enter into the most solemn Engagements, and to take the most Sacred Oaths, to be true to both; By which they have made themselves more infamous then those poor Rogues who are Pillory'd for Perjurie in lesser matters. And these Godly Priests seldom miss a Sunday but they Pillory themselves in the Face of the Congregation, when they invent such Doctrines as are inconsistent with the Oaths they have taken both to Church and State.

Would not the Romans upon the driving the Tarquins out of their City, have condemned those who shou'd have Preached up the Unlawfulness of all Resistance, as Enemys to their new Settlement, and in a Traitorous Conspiracy to bring back the Tyranny? Or would not the Dutch (to give an instance nearer home) upon their throwing off the Spanish Yoke, have adjudged such Preachers to be in the Popish and Spanish interest? And have we not the same reason to believe Men of these Principles which they

they are continually inculcating from the Pulpit in the *Popish & French interests*; or which is the same thing, in that of *St. Germain's Family*; and consequently Enemies to the present *Protestant Government, and Protestant Succession*.

But tho by an unaccountable indulgence, High Church Priests, have been suffered to spread the infection of *Jacobitism* far and near, yet sure 'tis not too late to put a check to the growing Mischief, and not let the Faction think it self too powerfull to be control'd. What can be more worthy the Wisdom of the Nation now Assembled in Parliament, than by some effectual Law to put a stop to all such seditious Harangues, as reflect on the Principles by which the Revolution was brought about, and tend to alienate People Affections from the present Government and Protestant Succession?

They who consider what curs'd Instruments of Tyranny the Pulpits have been in most Countrys, and how impossible 'is that the *English constitution* can without a Miracle be preserved, if they who have the Education of the Gentry and Nobility may with impunity instil into 'em such Principles as must oblige 'em to endeavour its destruction: they, I say, who reflect on this, and how insuperable the Prejudice of Education is, will think a Nation can't be too much on their guard, in a point on which the Eternal as well as Temporal Happiness of themselves and their Posterity does in so great a measure depend.

Will not the World think we do not Value as we ought our happy constitution, if they see its greatest Enemys permit'd twice a Week to Banter, Ridicule, Libel, and Insult it? who if they are far, very far from suffering at present any inconvenience by preaching these *Jacobitish* Notions, and are assur'd of all manner of Advantages when by their means a new Revolution is brought about; will they not continually employ their mercenary Tongues and Pens to that end, to the great discouragement of all that are in love with the Present Constitution both in Church and State?

To

To conclude, nothing wou'd be more certain then that the consequence of a new Revolution must be giving up all our present Liberty, losing all the Glorious Advantages which, by a Lasting Peace that cannot be far off, must accrue to *Great Britain*, and letting the *French King* over-run all *Europe*. Then not only the Funds (from which there is scarce a Family in *England* of any consequence but receive some advantage) and the Church-Lands will all go towards the maintenance of Superstition & Tyranny. But since it can't be doubted but the Priests then will make sure Work, the whole Nation wou'd be involved in the utmost poverty and Misery, and in a Slavery as irretrievable as it would be insupportable, and we should be made the Jest & Scorn of the whole World, & be thought the very last & lowest of Mankind, if after all we have done to preserve our Liberty and to Convey down to latest Posterity the inestimable Blessings of a Revolution, we should suffer our selves to be parted out of them all, by a Pack of Ridiculous, Senseless, Selfish, Pragmatical, Proud, Insolent Perjur'd Wretches.

F I N I S.

